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How did the Russian Press Report Russia's First President: Comparing the Key Words between Yeltsin's addresses and the Press

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Abstract This study investigates the usage of the key words in Yeltsin's addresses, the Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly, and how the Russian printed press, the broadsheet "Независимая газета" (Independent Newspaper), reported about Yeltsin's addresses. The key words in Yeltsin's addresses reflect the social conditions of the times. The key words of the press are the words, which relates to the name of Yeltsin. Journalists used these words with different nuances to report the addresses of Yeltsin and they reported Yeltsin's addresses with a critical eye.

Keywords Russian President, annual state-of-the-nation, Russian press, text mining, style of speech/discourse

1. Introduction

Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin assumed the presidency of the Russian Federation in 1991. As a former Secretary of the Soviet Union Communist Party, he was a person of power in Soviet Union and took control of the real power of the state. After the death of Joseph Stalin, who was General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, Georgy Malenkov, Nikita Khrushchev, Leonid Brezhnev, Yuri Andropov, Konstantin Chernenko, and Mikhail Gorbachev followed consecutively as the leader of the Soviet Union. In 1990, Gorbachev assumed the first and last Soviet presidency, but it was not through an election in a referendum. When a coup sought to remove Gorbachev from power on August 19, 1991, conservatives of the Soviet Communist Party placed Gorbachev under house arrest. Yeltsin rose against the coup, which was defeated in three days. Although the coup failed, it caused the fall of not only Soviet president Gorbachev but also the authority of the Soviet Communist Party. Yeltsin, who was the president of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, acceded to be the president of the Russian Federation after the collapse of the Soviet Union on December 25, 1991. As president, he tried to transform Russia, from socialism to capitalism, and to lead it toward democratization. Toward these goals, Yeltsin needed to deliver the idea of a structure of a new country to the citizens.

This study explores the key words of Yeltsin in the Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly to investigate what and how Yeltsin delivered the policy as the leader of the country. Also this study analyze how the Russian printed press reported Yeltsin's addresses to the readers.

The structure of this paper is as follows. Section 2 reviews a previous study on Yeltsin's speech style by Гаврилова (Gavrilova 2012), followed by a discussion on the Russian press in the beginning of the 20th century in Section 3. Then Section 4 describes the aim of this study. Section 5 introduces the corpus information. Section 6 comprises the arguments on Yeltsin's addresses and the press. Lastly, this study concludes the paper and sets the future tasks in Section 7.

2. Speech style of the first president of the Russian Federation

With Yeltsin as the president, the Russian Federation started as a new democratic state, from a socialistic one. In such circumstance, Yeltsin needed to establish a picture of the Russian President to lead and reconstruct Russia after the chaos.

Гаврилова (Gavrilova 2012) investigated certain features of a rhetoric portrait of Yeltsin as the first president. According to Gavrilova, a study of presidential rhetoric sets one's expectations of the positive and negative consequences of specific statements, and defines the individual speech style of a person striving to become a president. Гаврилова (Gavrilova) observed how the understanding of the word 'president' changed in Russia, and noted its appearance since the period of Peter the Great. In the Soviet Union, from the 1960s to the 1980s, a 'president' was regarded as a chairperson, who was elected to lead a society or a scientific institution. From the 1990s, a 'president' was considered an elected head of state (as in the case of most countries with a republican form of government). In the beginning of the 21st century, a 'president' was regarded as a chairperson elected to manage a society, an association, or a scientific institution. Чудинов (Chudinov 2003) pointed out that in the presidential election in 2000, the metaphorical expression 'president' occupied an important role as a czar. Гаврилова (Gavrilova) argued that Yeltsin tried to understand the meaning of 'president' in his own addresses by defining its scope. In her study, Гаврилова (Gavrilova) noted Yeltsin's comparison of a president to a vehicle: “Я – машина для принятия решений. (...) Но эта машина должна думать и чувствовать, должна воспринимать мир во всех его взаимосвязях. Это должна быть живая машина. Иначе – грош ей цена.” (I am a vehicle for -making decisions. But this vehicle must think and feel, must perceive the world in all its interrelations. It must be a live vehicle. Otherwise - this vehicle is just a penny price.) (Ельцин, Yeltsin 2008) Гаврилова (Gavrilova) contended that Yeltsin provided the Russian nation with a new political concept to be able to perceive the idea of a president in the Russian Federation, especially as he was the head of state elected as a result of democratic elections.

At the inauguration of Yeltsin in 1991, he addressed the nation as the first president of the Russian Federation: “Президент не Бог, не новой монарх, не всемогущий чудотворец. Он – гражданин. Облеченный огромной ответственностью за судьбу России и своих сограждан, он прежде всего человек, которому оказано высшее народное доверие.” (The president is not God, not a new monarch, not an almighty miracle worker. He is a citizen. Vested with a huge responsibility for the fate of Russia and its fellow citizens, he is above all a person who has been accorded the highest national confidence.) (Ельцин, Yeltsin 1991) According to Yeltsin, a president is not a God, but one of the Russian citizens; being elected to his position by the citizens, the Russian nation believes in him as the president. As Гаврилова (Gavrilova 2012) noted, Yeltsin considered himself as a vehicle that would lead the nation, but highlighted the fact that his leadership was a consequence of elections. In addition, Yeltsin stressed that as a vehicle, he must also think and feel; otherwise, he renders himself unfit to lead the country. In summary, Yeltsin’s definition of a president, using vehicle as a metaphorical language for the position, implied that the Russian president was created by democratic elections, and that the Russian nation requires its existence in the Russian Federation.

3. The Russian press in the beginning of the 20th century

The first Russian press was published in 1703 under the czarism of Peter the Great. Until the 18th century, printing technology had been completely undeveloped and the literacy rate of the Russian nation had been low. After the last half of the 19th century, the industrial development and the Narodniks movement propelled the press system to be more active. In the Soviet era, the newspaper of the Communist Party “Правда” (Pravda) and the government-controlled newspaper “Известия” (Izvestia) were the main media (Iijima 2009). “Правда” (Pravda) means truth in English and “Известия” (Izvestia), news. However, at that time, the press could not criticize the authorities or incidents in detail that the following anecdote became popular: in the “Правда” (Pravda), there is no truth; in the “Известия” (Izvestia), there is no news.

When Gorbachev became the General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party in 1985, he adopted the policies of perestroika¹ and glasnost, to rebuild a rigid political structure. These policies gave the nation the “right to know” about the news, including national intelligence and military activities. Through these policies, the news could now be reported based on the perspective of not only the Communist Party but also the journalists. Specifically, when the Chernobyl accident occurred, the importance of the disclosure of information was emphasized. Gorbachev failed to act because the information on the

¹ “Perestroika” means “rebuilding”. Pere is prefix that means “again”; stroika, “construction”

Chernobyl meltdown did not reach him or the nation, which lead to increases in damages and the number of victims.

When Yeltsin came to power as the first president of the Russian Federation, he transitioned Russia to a democratic political system, and the economic system to capitalism. Yeltsin also brought change to Russia's media when the media law came into effect on December 27, 1991. Such law consisted of seven chapters, namely, the general rules, organization of mass media activities, dissemination of mass information, relation of mass media with citizens and organizations, rights and obligations of the journalist, interstate cooperation in the field of mass information, and liability for the infringement of legislation on mass media. The first chapter described the basic concepts of the media, and prohibited censorship and the misuse of mass information. As Iijima (2009) pointed out, the media changed from an organ of the party to an independent media, which also entailed that the media could no longer take governmental financial support. However, such transition also occurred while the Yeltsin administration accelerated effort toward a market economy, causing an inflationary problems. Because a number of newspaper companies could not keep up with the economic events, thus there was lack of expense for paper, printing, and employment, they were forced to raise the price of newspapers and found refuge under oligarch or government-run companies. Because these sponsors limited media freedom or editorial rights, these newspaper companies turned back to their old ways, that is, reporting what the sponsors wanted. Nevertheless, between the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, the period of a sharp reform in the Russian press continued, as pointed out by Смирнова (Smrnova 2017). The printed media began to form as an important factor in the burgeoning democracy for the public due to the horizontal system Смирнова (Smrnova 2017). This situation enabled the Russian press to develop rapidly and increase circulation. From 1991 to 2001, the number of newspapers and journals rose, including the “Коммерсантъ” (Kommersant), “Совершенно секретно” (Absolutely secret), “Независимая газета” (Independent Newspaper), and “Российская газета” (Rossiyskaya Gazeta).

In recent years , various kinds of information have become available from different media platforms, such as newspapers, radio, television, and the internet. These media provide indirectly the public with value judgments on, among others, incidents, social issues, presidents, and politicians.

Suzuki (2012) pointed out the “gate-keeping function” of the present media in which the media selects the information to which the audience is exposed. In the 1990s Russia, as access to the internet was limited, people obtained information only from television, radio, and the printed press.

This study uses the Russian press “Независимая газета” (Independent Newspaper). This paper has been published from 21 December, 1990 as a broadsheet. In 1999, “Независимая

разера” (Independent Newspaper) opened free access to its materials on the Internet as the first high-quality Russian newspaper and nowadays their homepage says that “Независимая разера” (Independent Newspaper) is one of the largest periodicals of modern Russia, devoted to the topical problems of social, political and cultural life in Russia and beyond.

4. The aim of this study

The aim of this study is to investigate how the Russian press reports the addresses of the First Russian president, Boris Yeltsin. Yeltsin began to report policy in the Russian Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly, therefore this political event allowed the nation to know the policy of the government and the stance of the current administration.

This study focused on the Russian press at that time, and collected articles from “Независимая разера” (Independent Newspaper), in which journalist report about Yeltsin’s addresses. When we compare the texts between Yeltsin’s texts and articles in the press, then, the result would show us the difference in interpretation between the speaker and reporters. This study aims to find out when a journalist writes with a critical eye, what framework they use to inform their readers.

5. Data and method

This study used six Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly delivered by Yeltsin from 1994 to 1999 and the corresponding articles published by the “Независимая разера” (Independent Newspaper) for the same period. Table 1 shows the corpus information of this study, including the number of target files, and types and tokens in all texts.

	files	types	tokens
Yeltsin’s Addresses	6	7,553	97,215
“Независимая разера” (Independent Newspaper)	21	8,090	21, 854

Table 1: Corpus information

The texts of the Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly given by Yeltsin can be found on the Russian political aggregate site: “КонсультантПлюс - надёжная правовая поддержка” (ConsultantPlus - reliable legal support). This study collected the articles which mention the Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly “Независимая разера” (Independent Newspaper) in the Russian State Library national archive. We can access the library after registration and paying a 100 ruble fee. This allow access to the Russian State Library for 5 years. This study only investigates newspaper articles written about Yeltsin’s addresses to the Federal Assembly. Note that this study uses lemmatized texts of Yeltsin’s addresses to examine what kind of words used Yeltsin in

his addresses. To observe the style of the press, texts the articles were not lemmatized. This study uses the political documents of the First Russian President. Bayram says that “Politics is a struggle for power in order to put certain political, economical and social ideas into practice. In this process, language plays a crucial role, for every political action is prepared, accompanied, influenced and played by language.” (Bayram 2010, 24). Also Fairclough (2006) refer to the effects of words in the political sphere. Therefore an investigation of Yeltsin’s viewpoints from the address transcripts gives an indication of political communication.

This study also uses the articles from the press. Fowler (1998) points out that the media analysis has a descriptive approach, not a destructive one because of bias, and all news always report events from some particular angle based on economical and political position. This study pays attention to the usage of typical words in the press or expressions to fine out how journalists report the addresses of the Russian president and what kind of impression they cause the readers to have of the president.

This study investigated the tendencies of political texts, by using the CasualConc². Using this software, a correspondence analysis shows relationships among each text and the relevance of texts and words; concordance lines show the usages of a target word vertically. Based on these usages tendencies, the typical collocations of a specific word can be determined.

At first this study presented Yeltsin’s viewpoints in the addresses. Secondly, it analyzed articles and headline on the Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly. Third, it examined how journalists express of the president and their viewpoints, referencing the expression about Yeltsin in the press.

6. Yeltsin’s addresses and the press

6.1. Yeltsin’s addresses

Yeltsin’s addresses are divided as shown in figure 1. The texts relationship can be separated into two groups at a tilt, one group is texts from 1994 and 1995, and another group is texts from 1996, 1997, 1998 and 1999. These years show the periods of Yeltsin’s administration: the first period from 1991 to 1995 and the second period from 1996 to 1999.

Figure 2 shows the typical words used in Yeltsin’s addresses. Words used in the first period of Yeltsin’s administration such as: возможность (posibility), принцип (principle), обеспечить (supply), национальный (national), новый (new), политический (political), сила (power), международный (international), экономика (economy), конституция (constitution) and провобой (legal). Words in the second period Yeltsin’s administration include: свобода

² Professor Y. Imao created this free software for text analysis. I would like to express appreciation for it.

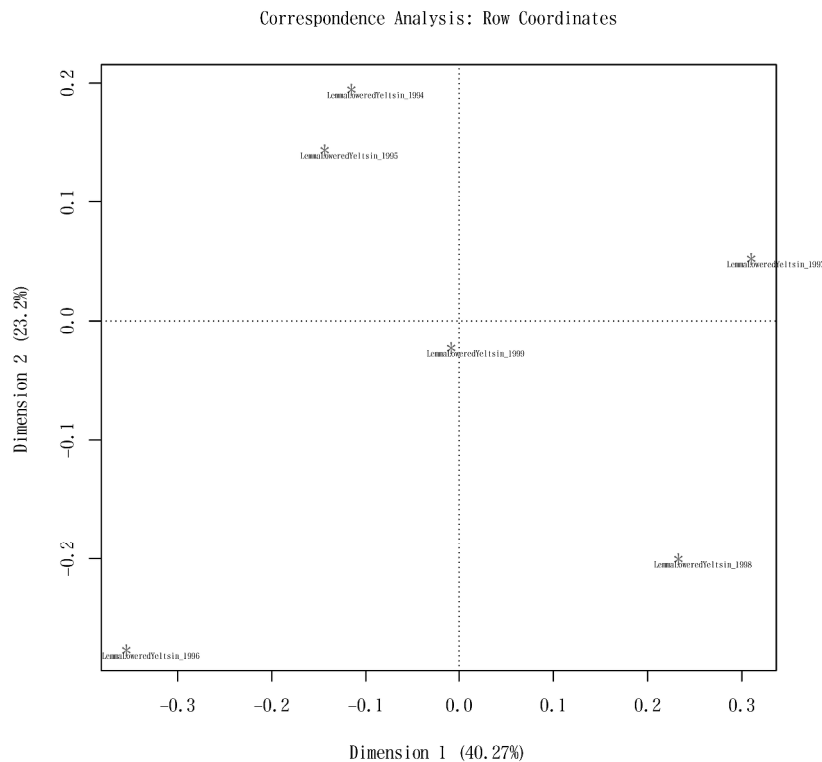


Figure 1: The word relationships of Yeltsin's Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly from 1994 to 1999

(freedom), кризис (crisis), поддержка (support), военный (military), право (right), путь (way), ответственность (responsibility), механизм (mechanism), государственный (state), работы (job), акт (action), правительство (government), контроль (controle), предприятие (company), организация (organization), рынок (market), региональный (regional), отношение (relationship), безопасность (safety) and рост (growth). The keywords in the texts from the 1994 to 1995 group of his administration are related to political words, whereas keywords in the second period from 1996 to 1999 in Yeltsin's administration are related to developing business in the Russian economy.

Безопасность (safety) is a distinguishing word in Yeltsin's first administration. The concordance lines showed that collocations of безопасность (safety) e.g. военная безопасность (military security), национальная безопасность. Yeltsin mention personal security 3.3%, military security 9.9% and national security 23% in his addresses. See (1), (2) and (3).

- (1) Демократическое государство не вправе вторгаться в частную жизнь граждан, но оно должно обеспечить каждому человеку личную безопасность и защиту

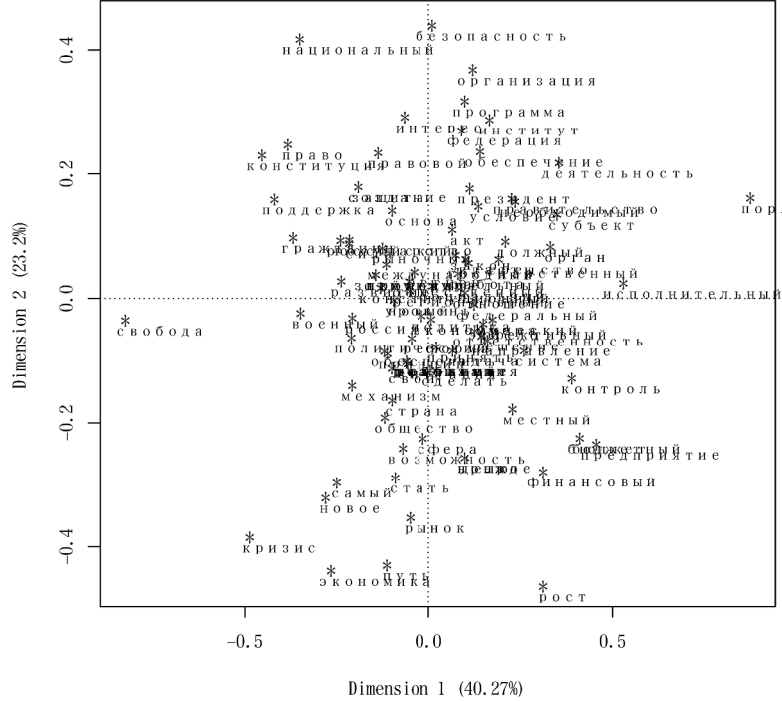


Figure 2: The textual relationships of Yeltsin's Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly from 1994 to 1999

его достоинства.

(A democratic state does not have the right to intrude into the private lives of its citizens, but it must ensure that every persons personal security and dignity are protected.)

(Yeltsin 1994)

- (2) Один из важнейших аспектов укрепления государственности является обеспечение военной безопасности Российской Федерации.

(One of the most important aspects of strengthening statehood is to ensure the security of militaries position in the Russian Federation.)

(Yeltsin 1995)

- (3) Приоритеты в области национальной безопасности нашей страны – это ликвидация очагов военных конфликтов у границ России (...).

(The main priorities in for the national security of our country is the elimination of hotbeds of military conflicts near the borders of Russia (...).)

(Yeltsin 1994)

Yeltsin's national goal was to transform Russia into a democratic country. According to him, a democratic system of governance must provide security, order, and harmony in society with as little government interference as possible. The First Chechen War began in 1994, and the Chechen aimed to become independent from Russia, so they abandoned the Russian Church and they spelled words from the Cyrillic alphabet to the Latin alphabet. Because of this conflict between Russia and Chechen, Russia resorted to responded with military action. Therefore, Yeltsin almost always mentioned a 'safety' in connection to military security and national security as in (2) and (3).

Because Yeltsin intended to transform Russia into a democratic country, he often used the word свобода (freedom) with право (rights) of гражданин (citizens), россиянин (Russians) or человек (people). When Yeltsin mentions freedom, he lists such words безопасность (safety), благосостояние (welfare), солидарность (solidarity) and демократия (democracy). Concordance lines show the rate of their usage in Yeltsin's addresses: право и свобода граждан (rights and freedom of the citizens) – 12%, право и свобода россиян (rights and freedom of Russians) – 1.8%, право и свобода человека и гражданина (rights and freedom of the citizens and the individual) – 11%. Yeltsin refer the rights of the citizens in sphere of society, see (4) and (5).

- (4) (...) создать действующие механизмы обеспечения и защиты прав и свобод каждого человека, независимо от национальности, веры, социального положения (...)

((...) create effective mechanisms for ensuring and protecting the rights and freedoms of every person, regardless of nationality, faith, social status (...))

(Yeltsin 1994)

- (5) Должно неукоснительно обеспечиваться предусмотренное конституцией равенство прав и свобод всех граждан вне зависимости от их национальности.

(The equality of rights and freedoms of all citizens provided for in the Constitution, irrespective of their nationality, must be strictly ensured.)

(Yeltsin 1994)

The right and freedom of citizens, which Yeltsin mentioned in 1994, indicated the framework of behavior and these rights and freedom should be recognized in Russia. In addition Yeltsin made the point that all citizens in the whole of Russia have the right to have their own beliefs, including religious beliefs, regardless of their nationality, faith and social status, that is to say, Russian citizens have freedom of religion. In 1999 Yeltsin used a word свобода (freedom) with a concept of avouchment under the constitutional law as in (6) and (7).

- (6) Концептуальной основой конституции российской федерации признано закрепление прав и свобод человека в качестве высшей ценности.

(The conceptual basis of the constitution of the Russian Federation recognized the consolidation of human rights and freedoms as the highest value.)

(Yeltsin 1999)

- (7) Думаю, также назрела необходимость срочной разработки правовых оснований (...) на территории субъектов российской федерации, где нарушаются конституционные принципы, попираются права и свободы человека.

(I think there is also a need for urgent development of legal grounds in the territory of the Russian Federation, where constitutional principles are violated, human rights and freedoms are violated.)

(Yeltsin 1999)

The difference in the expression of the word свобода (freedom) in 1994 and in 1999 is an understanding of the development of a democracy in the Russian Federation as the birth of new country. In the first Yeltsin's administration, he aimed to spread an understanding of the word 'freedom' because in the Soviet Union the nation did not have a concept of word the 'freedom' in their life. In the last year of Yeltsin's administration, he mentioned the necessity of protecting of human rights under the law.

As figure 2 shows, one of the key words in Yeltsin's second administration is кризис (crisis). Collocations of this word are affiliated to economy-related words such as экономический (economic), финансовый (financial), бюджетный (budgetary) and банковский (banking). These collocations account for 18% in the usage of the word кризис (crisis). The usage of кризис (crisis) also shows the attitude of Yeltsin's administration towards a difficult situation. Yeltsin expresses the end of difficult situations with the words выход из кризиса (exit from a crisis) , избежать кризиса (escape from a crisis) or преодолевать кризис (overcome a crisis). See, (8), (9) and (10).

- (8) Мы создали рыночную экономику, которая позволила преодолеть кризис без катастроф, выйти из спада и стабилизировать ситуацию.

(We created a market economy that allowed us to overcome the crisis without catastrophe, get out of the recession and stabilize the situation.)

(Yeltsin 1998)

- (9) Что надо делать для выхода из кризиса и каким путем двигаться дальше?

(What should (we) do to overcome the crisis and how to move on?)

(Yeltsin 1999)

- (10) Не избежать кризиса государству, в котором на плаву удерживаются неплатежеспособные предприятия, не умеющие производить конкурентоспособную продукцию.

(The government should not avoid the crisis that insolvent corporation, which are unable to produce competitive products.)

(Yeltsin 1999)

As in excerpts from (8), (9) and (10), Yeltsin appealed to the nation as the leader of the country. He presented the idea of an effective market economy, and in this sentence the pronoun 'мы' (we) indicates Yeltsin's administration. In (9) Yeltsin threw out a question to the audience. In this sentence Yeltsin did not say who should overcome the crisis in Russia. Before this sentence Yeltsin listed three questions: "Были ли у России шанс избежать кризиса?" (Were there any chances to avoid a crisis in Russia?), "Являются ли реформы причиной наших бед?" (Are the reforms the cause of our troubles?) and "Что произошло и что происходит в российской экономике?" (What happened and what is happening in the Russian economy?). Yeltsin delivered his address with a questioning style. These questions allowed bureaucrats and the Russian nation to look back on the Russian situation and see the current situation. In addition these questions were effectively delivered to as in (9) without showing the specific actor. In (10) Yeltsin put the word 'government' as subject expressed its duty towards the country. Yeltsin described the ideal of government and presented himself as the leader of the country, comparing the past and current Russia.

The words in Yeltsin's addresses indicate the current issues and the ideal construction of Russia. Yeltsin set an ideal vision of Russian Federation as an aim, and he revealed a solution to achieve this, using the pronoun 'we', which means the president and his administration.

6.2. Headlines in the press

The Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly began in 1994. At present, the president of Russia deliver the address on the 12th of December, which is the anniversary of the Russian Constitution. During years Yeltsin’s time, the address occurred in February or March. Table 2 shows the dates when the Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly were given by Yeltsin, and the dates articles that were published in the press “Независимая газета” (Independent Newspaper). The numbers in parentheses show the number of the articles in the press. In 1994 the press “Независимая газета” (Independent Newspaper) gave a 24 hour advance notice about the addresses of Yeltsin, and in 1996 and 1997 the press reported on the same day before the addresses took place. In 1999 it reported about the address given by Yeltsin on the same day but after the address was made.

Addresses delivered the year before day published articles	Yeltsin’s addresses	Address delivered the next day published articles
1994 23 February(1)	24 February	25 February(1) 04 March(1) 05 March(3)
1995	16 February	17 February(2) 18 February(2)
1996 23 February(1)	23 February	24 February(1) 27 February(2)
1997 06 March(1)	06 March	07 March(1) 11 March(1)
1998	17 February	18 February(2)
1999	30 March	30 March(1) 31 March(1)

Table 2: Dates of Yeltsin’s addresses and articles in the press

The number of published articles could be a rough indication of how journalists paid attention to the incident, and how they considered it worthy of attention. When journalists report about the events, they then encourage the readers to pay attention to the events, or the public opinion have interests to the events, therefore journalists write on the events. As Table 2 shows, journalists paid attention to the presidential address in 1994, because it was the first year of it. Journalists called attention to the readers on the previous day of the Yeltsin’s first presidential address to the Federal Assembly. Journalists also reported on the previous day of the Yeltsin’s address in 1996 and 1997. See, (11), (12) and (13).

- (11) ПОСЛАНИЕ ПРЕЗИДЕНТА ПАРЛАМЕНТУ РОССИИ: МНОГО РИТОРИКИ, МАЛО
 КОНКРЕТИКИ СМЕНЫ ВЕХ НЕ ПРЕДВИДИТСЯ, НО УСИЛЯТСЯ ДУХ
 ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОСТИ И ОПТИМИЗМА

(THE MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE PARLIAMENT OF RUSSIA: THERE IS A LOT OF RHETORIC, THERE IS LITTLE CONCRETE VOLTE-FACE, WHICH IS NOT EXPECTED, BUT THE SPIRIT OF STATEHOOD AND OPTIMISM)

(23 February 1994)

(12) СЕГОДНЯ БУДЕТ ОГЛАШЕНО ПОСЛАНИЕ ЕЛЬЦИНА

(TODAY YELTSIN'S ADDRESS WILL BE ANNOUNCED)

(23 February 1996)

(13) СЕГОДНЯ ПРЕЗИДЕНТ ОБНАРОДУЕТ ПОСЛАНИЕ ФЕДЕРАЛЬНОМУ СОБРАНИЮ ОДНАКО СТРАНА БУДЕТ ЖИТЬ ГЛАВНЫМ ОБРАЗОМ ПО ПРИНЯТОМУ ДУМОЙ БЮДЖЕТУ

(TODAY PRESIDENT WILL ANNOUNCE THE MESSAGE TO THE FEDERAL ASSEMBLY HOWEVER THE COUNTRY WILL LIVE MAINLY ON THE ADOPTED DUMA BUDGET)

(06 March 1997)

A journalist made a headline about the first presidential address as (11) with a critical point. He pointed out that the presidential address will be announced to the Parliament of Russia to notify the readers that this address is one of the official political events. The journalist got pre-existing information, and he expressed the image of the presidential address briefly in a headline. The journalist reported the impression of the first president before the Russian nation knew its content to encourage the nation to listen the Yeltsin's address with bias. When compared to (11), (12) is a simple headline. In (13) it's reported that Yeltsin would state the address in the beginning of the headline, and after the first pause the journalist gave information about the address, which would be given by Yeltsin on the next day. He continues the headline with the word 'however' after the notice of the Yeltsin's address, and the second part gives the readers an understanding that there would be gap in the proposal of solution to a budget in the country between the Yeltsin's administration and the Duma. This headline provides an impression to the readers to feel anxious for the future of the Russia and question Yeltsin as a leader of this country.

The headlines, which journalists wrote after the Yeltsin's addresses on 1994, 1996 and 1997 are as following. See, (14), (15) and (16).

- (14) ПОСЛАНИЕ ПРЕЗИДЕНТА: ВСЕ ПРАВИЛЬНО И ДАВНО ИЗВЕСТНО С РЕФОРМАМИ ПО ГАЙДАРУ ПОКОНЧЕНО И ПРИНЯТА, ВИДИМО, ПРОГРАММА ОППОЗИЦИИ

(THE MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT: ALL RIGHT AND EVERYTHING HAS BEEN KNOWN WITH THE REFORMS ON GAIDAR, WAS ENDED, THE OPPOSITION'S PROGRAM WAS ADOPTED)

(25 February 1994)

- (15) ВЧЕРА БОРИС ЕЛЬЦИН ОБРАТИЛСЯ С ПРЕЗИДЕНТСКИМ ПОСЛАНИЕМ К ФЕДЕРАЛЬНОМУ СОБРАНИЮ В ПОСЛАНИИ, В ЧАСТНОСТИ, СКАЗАНО: “АЛЬТЕРНАТИВОЙ ДЕМОКРАТИИ МОГУТ СТАТЬ ЛИБО ХАОС И АНАРХИЯ, ЛИБО ДИКТАКУРА. НИ ТОГО, НИ ДРУГОГО РОССИЯ УЖЕ НЕТ ВЫДЕРЖИТ”

(YESTERDAY BORIS YELTSIN APPEALED IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE FEDERAL ASSEMBLY, IN PARTICULAR HE SAID: “ALTERNATIVE DEMOCRACY CAN BECOME CHAOS AND ANARCHY, OR DICTATORSHIP. THERE'S NO OTHER RUSSIA HAVING ALREADY HAVING ANYTHING”)

(24 February 1996)

- (16) ПРЕЗИДЕНТСКОЕ ПОСЛАНИЕ НА САМОМ ДЕЛЕ ОКАЗАЛОСЬ НОВАТОРСКИМ ЕСЛИ ЕГО ИДЕИ БУДУТ РЕАЛИЗПВАНЫ. РОССИЯ ДЕЙСТВИТЕЛЬНО ВЗДОХНЕТ СВОБОДНО

(PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE ACTUALLY WOULD BE INNOVATIVE IF ITS IDEAS WILL BE REALIZED. RUSSIA WILL BREATHE FREELY)

(07 March 1997)

On the next day after Yeltsin's first address journalist wrote the headline (14) with his evaluation of the address. Journalist assessed that the policy, which Yeltsin's administration plan to carry on, was right. It gave an impression to the readers that this journalist and the readers already had idea or expectation to the Yeltsin's administration. At the beginning of this headline, journalist estimates the policy with a positive word 'right', but he expresses dissatisfaction that from Yeltsin's policy we could not know something new way to the Russian society. (15) was reported on the year, when Yeltsin was reselected a post of president. At that time on the first election of the president, Yeltsin got less than majority in the competition with Gennadii Zyuganov in Russian Communist Party, but Yeltsin was elected at the conclusive election. At this time, the support rate of Yeltsin was low because

of the health of Yeltsin, conflict of Chechen or economic weakness. In (15) journalist quoted phrase from Yeltsin's address. He continued the headline with an emphatic expression to deliver the readers that Yeltsin made a point about alternative of a way to democracy in his address. Yeltsin's address in 1997 was evaluated as innovative policy. Journalist took an attitude of skepticism to his policy on the sideline with the expression of subjunctive mood. In this headline journalist used personification 'Russia' as subjective, not put personal pronoun 'we'. From his expression journalist intended to deliver the nuance that whole Russian nation could breathe freely from the current Russian situation, if Yeltsin's policy would be realized, in other words, the economic situation would be improved.

6.3. Expressions about Yeltsin in the press

As in headlines journalists provided own impression of Yeltsin's addresses or neutral information of this event. Figure 3 shows the relationship among texts of "Независимая газета" (Independent Newspaper). As the result of correspondence analysis shows that articles in the press can not be divided depend on years. It means the usage of words do not depend on the period and not the topic in Yeltsin's addresses. Figure 4 shows the words in the articles. In the center there are Ельцин (Yeltsin) or президент (president), because journalists reported addresses of Yeltsin. In the bottom of figure 4, there are words Послания (addresses) and Послание (address) as subject. The keywords, which are related to policy or political event, are реформ (reform), реформы (reforms), власть (of power) and выборов (of election). The functional words include или (or), даже (even), Но (but), Однако (however) and so on.

When viewed from the expression about Yeltsin, journalists tended to use different nuance depending on a situation. There are variations of expression about Yeltsin in the press: Ельцин (Yeltsin), Борис Ельцин (Boris Yeltsin), президент (president), президент Ельцин (president Yeltsin), глава государства (head of state). When journalists use a name of Yeltsin as a genitive, they use as following: послание Ельцина (address of Yeltsin), послание президента (address of president) or по мнению Ельцина (according to Yeltsin), по мнению Бориса Ельцина (according to Boris Yeltsin). Table 3 shows the usage of words, which indicates Yeltsin, and those oblique cases. Table 3 shows that journalists tend to use the name of Yeltsin more than Yeltsin's name with his position. In addition journalists useпрезидент (president) when they mention Yeltsin's addresses. The usage of these words in concordance lines shows an attitude of journalists to Yeltsin. See (17) and (18).

- (17) В своем послании парламенту Борис Ельцин призвал к укреплению государственности на основе Конституции к нахождениюбаланса между потребностями реформируемой экономики и социальными нуждами населения.

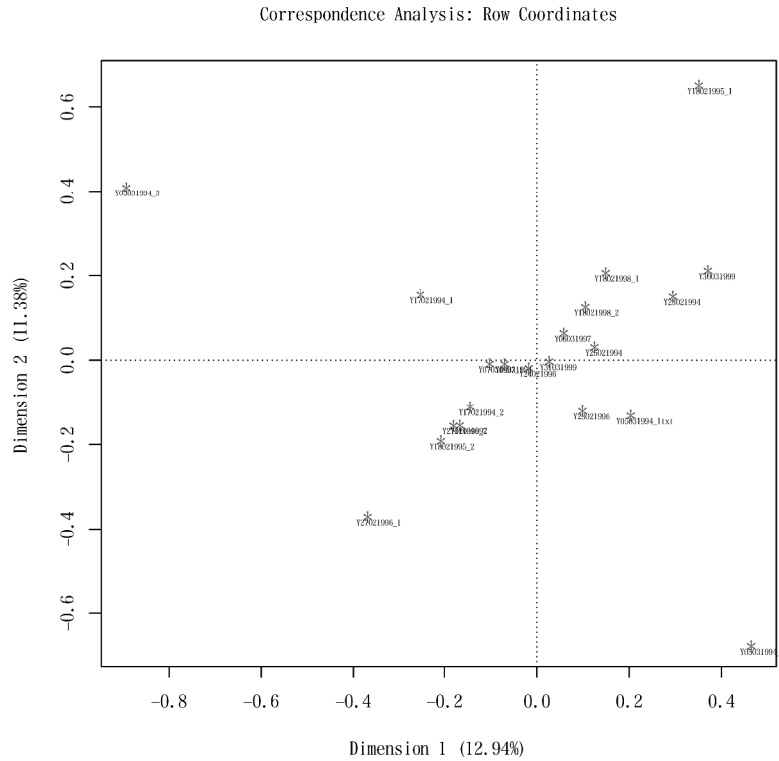


Figure 3: The texts' relationships of “Независимая газета” (Independent Newspaper)

(In his own message to the parliament, Boris Yeltsin called for strengthening statehood on the basis of the Constitution and finding a balance between the needs of the reformed economy and the social needs of the population.)

(04 March 1994)

- (18) Может ли Ельцин довести их до позитивного этапа или они будут брошены на полпути и кто-то иной все начнет сначала, с новой страницы, как не раз уже бывало в России?

(Can Yeltsin bring them to a positive stage or they will be thrown halfway and someone else will start all over again, from a new page, as has already happened in Russia many times before?)

(07 February 1994 (2))

When journalists use Борис Ельцин (Boris Yeltsin), they mentioned that Yeltsin addressed his policy and what he took particular note as policy in his administration. This means that when journalists used Борис Ельцин (Boris Yeltsin), they regarded the name of

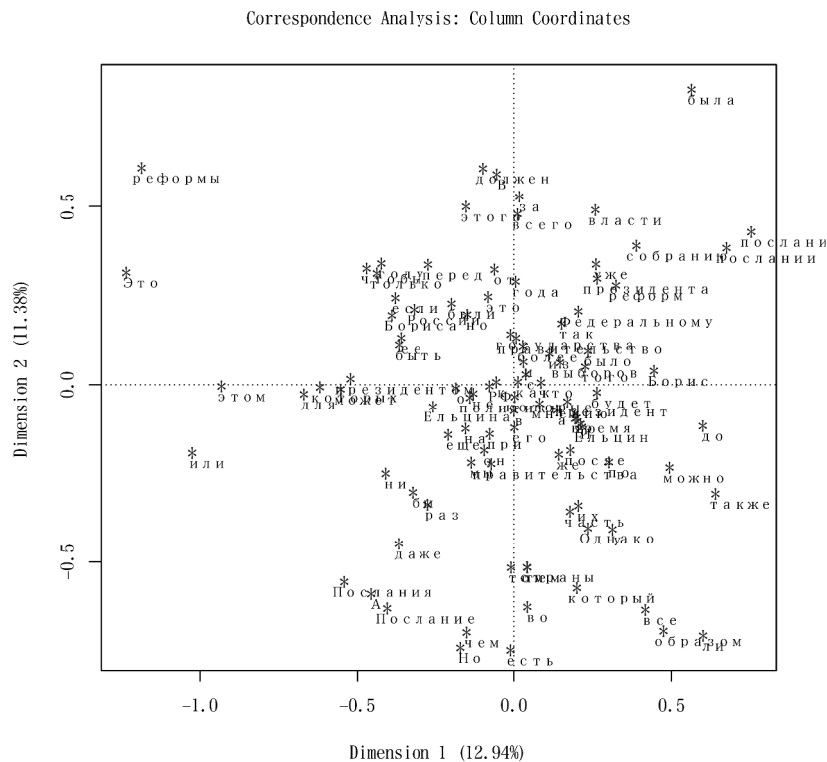


Figure 4: The words' relationships of “Независимая газета” (Independent Newspaper)

Yeltsin as a leader of current administration. Whereas, when journalists wrote only **Ельцин** (Yeltsin) without his first name, the writer became one observer to Yeltsin's ability as a president in Russia. It means that Yeltsin was a private individual, not a leader of current administration, at that time. That is the reason of the tendency as table 3 shows that the usage of **президент Ельцин** (president Yeltsin) is low frequency in the articles.

When journalists used the position президент (president), it indicated the power or authority as a president of Russia. Almost all the usage of президент (president) and президент РФ/ России (president of Russian Federation/ president of Russia) were used as genitive case as послание президента (address of president). The articles, which this study used, reported about Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly, therefor послание президента (address of president) was used as one appellation. Following excerpts are different expression of usage of Yeltsin's position except appellation as послание президента (address of president). See (19), (20) and (21).

- (19) Президент считает необходимым государственное регулирование экономики.

(President considers necessary state regulation of the economy.)

	Борис Ельцин (Boris Yeltsin)	Ельцин (Yeltsin)	президент Ельцин (president Yeltsin)
subject	38 times	38 times	1 time
genitive/ accusative	19 times	46 times	0
dative	2 times	4 times	0
instructive	2 times	4 times	1 time
locative	1 time	0	0
	президент (president)	президент РФ/ России (president of Russian Federation/ president of Russia)	глава/ глава государства/ россии (head/ head of state/ head of Russia)
subject	75 times	4 times	14 times
genitive/ accusative	116 times	4 times	12 times
dative	7 times	0	0
instructive	23 times	0	0
locative	0	1 time	5 times

Table 3: Expressions about Yeltsin

(30 March 1999)

- (20) ВЧЕРА В КРЕМЛЕ состоялся брифинг помощников президента России Георгия Сатарова, Александра Лившина и Вячеслава Косикова.

(Yesterday in the Kremlin a briefing was held by the assistants of the President of Russia Georgy Satarov, Alexander Livshits and Vyacheslav Kosikov.)

(18 February 1995)

- (21) Глава государства считает, что кабинет министров обязан руководствоваться прежде всего стратегическими целями, намеченными в посланиях президента.

(The head of state believes that the cabinet of ministers must be guided primarily by the strategic goals outlined in the president's messages.)

(30 March 1999)

The image of expressions президент (president), президент РФ/ России (president of Russian Federation/ president of Russia) and глава государства (head of state) was very similar as a leader of the country. When journalists used these words, they describe a power, authority and responsibility as a president. When the writer indicated the action

or consideration of Yeltsin, using his position and comparing with other managerial post, then it effectively works to describe sense of presence of Yeltsin as a president of Russian Federation. If journalists wrote the name of Yeltsin in the above excerpts (19), (20) and (21), mean that the idea or power would focus on personal Yeltsin. The Russian Presidential Addresses are the one way to deliver the policy of current administration, therefor journalists use different expressions with various nuances in the press.

7. Conclusion

This study investigated the points of view between Yeltsin's addresses, the Russian Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly, and the published articles in the "Независимая газета" (Independent Newspaper).

Yeltsin's presidential addresses were divided into the first period of his administration, from 1994 to 1995, and the second period, from 1996 to 1999. The keywords in the first period are related to political words, and in the second period, to developing the business environment. The word *бесопасность* (safety) shows that Yeltsin payed attention the safety of citizens and the war with Chechen. He tried to explain the concept of democracy in the context of the Russian Federation using the word *свобода* (freedom). Moreover, Yeltsin considered solving the economical crisis in Russia, using key word *кризис* (crisis) and he throw questions to the audiences: politicians and nation so that they could think about a situation of current Russia.

The journalists reported on Yeltsin's addresses to the Federal Assembly before and after the days of Yeltsin's presentation. The headlines in the press were almost written in capitals. It effects to catch eye of readers. When journalists wrote before the day of Yeltsin's addresses, they tended to prejudice the readers Yeltsin's addresses. Journalists obtained the information of Yeltsin's addresses beforehand, and they reported impressions based on this, for the citizens to watch and listen to the president addresses with a critical eye. In the article journalists used different nuance for making mention of Yeltsin, using six different expressions. When journalists used the name of Yeltsin with his first name, then it means a leader of a current administration, whereas when journalists use the name of Yeltsin without his first name, then journalists tend to be a observer of the Yeltsin's ability as a leader of the country. The names of managerial post make a image of power or authority of its' person, but not his administration.

Yeltsin addressed his policy to change over a democratic system, recover the economic crisis. The journalists had a rights to report on Yeltsin with a critical eye at that time. The future tasks of this study are to compare the words, which Yeltsin mentioned in his addresses and the published articles, to investigate the gap in understanding what Yeltsin proposed and what journalists reported to the readers.

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